1: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1946 SM3 Caingang SM3

the Whites, but was retained for small children. In recent times the Santa Catarina *Aweikoma-Caingang* of both sexes shaved the hair over the forehead and on top of the head (Paula Souza, 1924, p. 122). 302

The *Caingang* abhor body hair and always remove it. Combs consist of small wooden splinters passed through a slit in a piece of reed.

The *Caingang* seem to have used charcoal more than urucú for body painting. Among the *Aweikoma-Caingang* certain body paints belong to exogamic groups of people. The main motifs are dots, vertical lines, circles, and horizontal bars with vertical lines. The *Caingang* observed by Maniser (1930, p. 771) painted themselves only for funeral ceremonies. They regarded the black stripes on their chest as a protection against the ghosts. The pigment was charcoal mixed with honey and water or with the sticky sap of a creeper. 302 386 531 [764] [789]

TRANSPORTATION

River navigation never was so important to the *Caingang* as to their *Tupí-Guaraní* neighbors. To cross a river, the *Aweikoma-Caingang* fell a tree on each side of the river and connect the intervening space with a tree trunk braced with poles fixed in the river bed. 491

Caingang women carry babies on their backs, often in a net, by means of bark tumplines. Among the *Aweikoma-Caingang* these straps are 4 inches (10 cm.) wide, woven of embira fibers. Knapsacks are suspended by a tumpline. 854 482

MANUFACTURES

Netting.—According to Koenigswald (1908 b, p. 49), the Paraná *Caingang* made net bags of caraguatá fibers. 286

Basketry.—*Caingang* carrying baskets have a hexagonal weave, and, like those of the *Tupí*, are elongated and rectangular knapsacks open on top and on the outer side, so that only the bottom and sides support the burden. Basketry containers woven from thin strips of split bamboo, frequently have stepped designs produced by alternating black and natural color strands (fig. 58, *c*). Some baskets, like those of the *Guayaná*, are made in two parts that telescope into each other. 285 415

The *Aweikoma* have three main types of baskets: large baskets for transportation of goods; small, impervious water or honey containers of Taquara mansa strips coated with wax; and small receptacles, similarly waterproofed, used as cups and dishes.

Spinning.—*Caingang* textiles are made with the fibers of the ortiga brava, probably a Bromelia. Women seize the leaves with leather-covered hands, cut them at the base, and remove all the thorns, then macerate the leaves in water, dry, and, finally, crush them. The fibers are then rolled into threads with the palm of the hand against the 283

1: Métraux E-4 (no date) 1946 SM3 Caingang SM3

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Chiefs wield little authority. They work in their fields and hunt like the rank and file of the group. Their position is conspicuous only when the community organizes a big feast, which is always given in the chief's name. Chiefs also are the leaders of any collective undertaking. They maintain their hold on their people by distributing gifts and looking after their well-being (Koenigswald, 1908 b, p. 47). A chief who is overbearing or miserly is abandoned by his followers. The son of a chief succeeds to his father if he is acceptable to the group (Horta Barboza, 1913, p. 25). 622

LIFE CYCLE

Birth and childhood.—Formerly, a pregnant *Caingang* woman did not consort with her husband, and both observed food taboos. Women gave birth in the forest, sheltered from the supposedly malefi- 843 844
cent moonbeans.[4] A few days after delivery the mother and child were fumigated, a rite accompanied by a drinking bout. [852]

Nowadays, a *Caingang* woman bears her child wherever she happens to be, knowing how to take care of herself even if she is alone. Usually, she is delivered squatting while a midwife embraces her from behind, raising her now and then until travail is over. The navel cord is cut with a fingernail and tied with a caraguatá string.

Among the *Aweikoma*, the placenta and umbelical cord, wrapped in medicinal herbs, are placed in a basket and sunk in the stream. The mother winds a long cord around the ankles of the baby and removes it 15 days later during a feast given by the father to a group of relatives. The umbilical cord is disposed of by the mother's brother or his wife or by the mother's sister, who later become ceremonial parents. 846

In other *Caingang* groups, the mother pulls open the infant's eyelids immediately after birth "in order that he might see," breathes into his eyes and ears, and presses his temples and head from front to back. The father does not pay much attention to the baby until it is old enough to speak: Then he gives it 5 to 10 names. In the south, the names were bestowed without any rite after the above-mentioned ceremony. [553]

The *Caingang* show the greatest tenderness to their children, seldom punishing them or using harsh words. 854

According to Horta Barboza (1913, p. 27), when a boy reaches the age of 7, his mother rubs his body with the leaves of a certain tree and pours water over his head to make him courageous and diligent. 852 553

[4] It is reported that they gave birth unassisted in a special cabin (Serrano, 1939, p. 26).

2: Henry E-5 (1932-1934) 1941
SM3 Caingang SM3
Aweikoma

plain how it was that he didn't kill. He walks about, telling loudly how he climbed this hill and descended that, how the thorns scratched him and how he saw no tracks. But the successful hunter sits down with the casual remark that "A tapir has been killed," and after a while, or next day, if it is late, the women go and bring it in. Before he sleeps he must mend his broken arrows, and late at night the yellow light of the dry bamboo illumines his puckered face still bent over them, while his wife sleeps with her baby against her breast. The Kaingáng do not sleep much. Even if there is no work to keep them up—no baskets for the men to weave, no arrows for them to mend—they are forever getting up to eat or to warm themselves by the fire. Before the reservation days they were a hunted people, harassed by another tribe, by the Brazilians, and by one another so that wakefulness became highly valued among them.

When the men are in camp they circulate noisily, but the women sit where they are, mingling their high-pitched voices with those of the men, taking an equal part in the conversation if it concerns anything they have any interest in. It is when the men are gone that the women come together for their own particular kind of intimate gossip: love affairs and projected separations; this one's change of heart and that one's scandalous behavior. They sit in a little group making dresses for themselves or sewing for their husbands or brothers, stopping every half hour or so to suckle their babies, who are given the breast whenever they cry, to scold a child who has defecated in a plate, to snatch another from the fire or to rub passionately a little head that has been bruised in falling. A man in the camp is an added spice to a spicy situation, and if a sprained limb or infected foot keeps him at home he becomes the focus for feminine jokes that run eternally in the same channel.

When the young women go out to pick up the fallen fruit or to gather the yellow *tai* fruit that grows in the center of a large spiked plant, they leave their babies with their old mothers or with other women to be suckled and cared for. Sometimes, if they have children who are a little grown, they may take them with them, but the Kaingáng do not feel that a woman should be accompanied by a little child so that its presence may prevent a swift and surreptitious sex encounter. They are generally free to pursue their love affairs secretly in the bush while their husbands are away, and if they cannot do that they spend their time talking about other people's affairs.

There is really very little for the women to do nowadays. Aside from their specifically feminine functions Kaingáng society could exist just as well without them. They "make the bed" and get the firewood, but their husbands help them build the house. The men hunt and also bring in most of the wild honey, for they range the farthest. It is they who climb the trees

2: Henry E-5 (1932-1934) 1941
SM3 Caingang SM3
Aweikoma

III

Sexual Relations and Marriage

EVEN KAINGÁNG BABIES LEARN that the terms connected with sex have an aura of laughter and spice. *Waikó*, to copulate; *waindjī*, to have an affair; *mbâdn*, lover or husband; *plų*, wife or sweetheart; *ênglânglé*, my co-spouse, are some of the terms which, brought into a conversation, occasion any amount of smirking, tittering and laughing. The sexuality of little boys is stimulated by their mothers by manipulation of the genitals before they can walk. Although little children of two and three are told jocularly to copulate with one another, their attention is directed toward adults. A boy of three has already learnt to say, in answer to the question, "With whom do you copulate," "With Waikome," who may be his grandfather's sister. Babies are jokingly told to copulate with people anywhere from ten to twenty times their age, and a man sixty-five years old will call a toddler of three "my co-husband." Children of all ages are pressed into service to remove ticks, and it is not at all uncommon to see a little girl of five or six hovering over a supine man picking the ticks off his genitals.

A child soon learns to repeat the jokes that go around the campfire and to shout gleefully, "You copulate with your first cousin!" A boy of nine is jokingly taunted with masturbation, told that he has deflowered his fifteen-year-old cousin, or accused of wanting to copulate with a dog. As two dogs copulate the entire camp roars with laughter and a little girl of six cries delightedly, "They are copulating!" The children may see the boisterous open foreplay of the adults and glimpse the sexual act in the dim light of the early morning.

Yet with all of this I never saw or heard of intercourse among children. Jokes about the love affairs of children among themselves are never made by the adults nor by the children. The children receive so much satisfaction

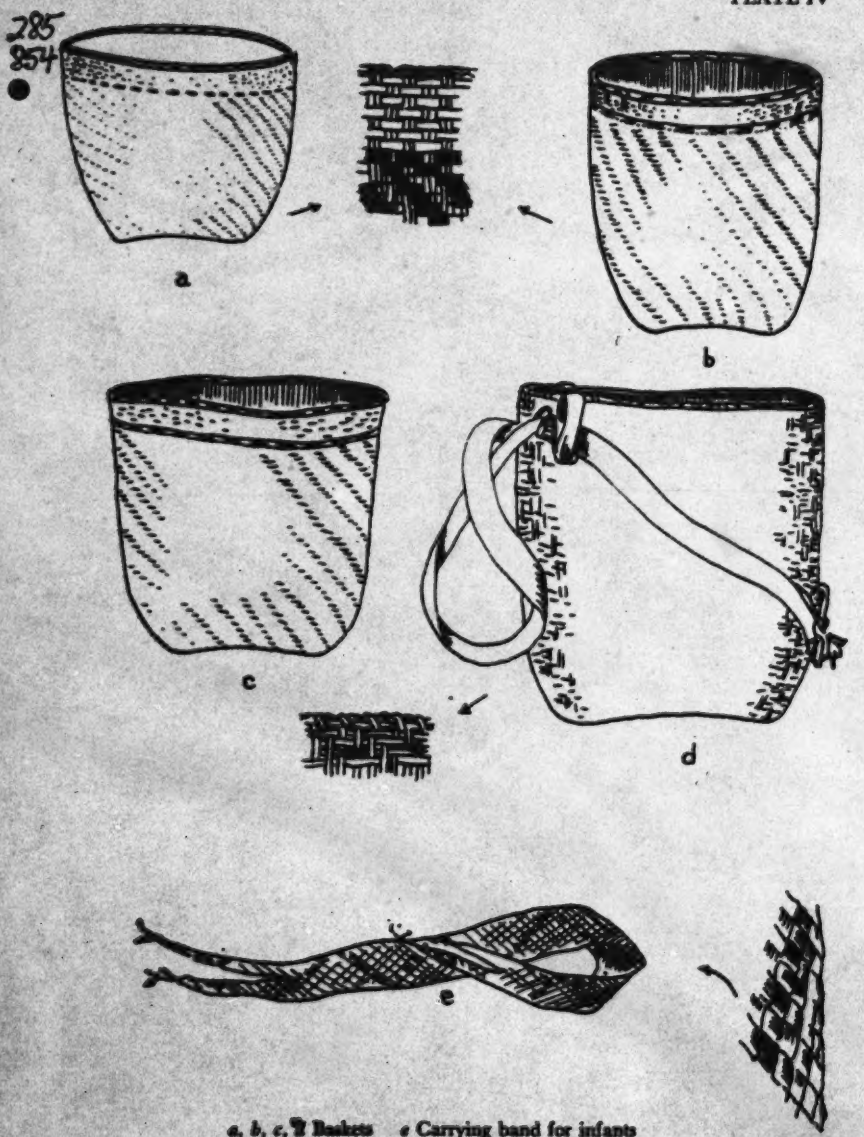
2: Henry E-5 (1932-1934) 1941
SM3 Caingang SM3
Aweikoma

[facing p. 28]

2: Henry E-5 (1932-1934) 1941
SM3 Caingang SM3
Aweikoma

PLATE IV

285
854



a, b, c, ♀ Baskets *e* Carrying band for infants

[p.156 (B)]

285 Chusquea pinifolia--Translator] strips which vary only in their width
415 and thickness.

The larger waxed baskets are used as a sort of pail to convey water and honey. The small baskets, also waterproof, are used as vessels--mugs of a sort--for water and for mong-ma on festive occasions.

286 The Botocudo do not plait fans or mats. But they do weave a
482 strap, eight centimeters in width, tied at the ends with a special slipping knot which permits its shortening or lengthening. These straps are woven, sometimes in two colors, of embira fiber. The women use
[554] them placed against the forehead, or against the top of the head, to carry children. The Botocudo carry everything in this fashion, with the weight steadied against the head and resting along the back.

412 These Indians use large tongs made of taquarucu [a large bamboo, Guadua superba--Translator] or hard wood. These pincers are used to remove food from the fire and from boiling pots. They are called ko-pama, "wooden hand."

619 The Botocudo make up a single tribe composed of various families with equal rights.

622 Power rests with a single chief, pahi, who steers the destinies of the tribe and usually rules on all its actions.

The chief wields this power as long as his worth as a brave and fearless warrior is recognized by all. In his absence the most experienced and courageous warriors take over and exert authority upon the other members of the tribe.

When elderly the chief transfers his command to a worthy warrior, without losing his ascendancy over the tribe. He becomes its respected and venerated counselor.

595 The Botocudo are polygamous. According to his worth, the warrior usually marries two or three women; the chiefs always take more than three wives. [126]

304 On reaching adulthood the youths are tattooed on the arm with a warrior's badge, which consists of two dots laid horizontally. As they prove their manly qualities they are granted another two marks,
[552] tattoed similarly underneath the first. Once thus admitted among the warriors, they are considered ready to marry.